1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Silwa

THE AIMS AND METHODS OF SOCIALIZATION IN SILWA

them for some time. Boys and girls between the ages of four and seven are often heard talking about the 'silowa' roaming through the village at night on its way from the hills to its nightly drink from the Nile. The 'ghool' is another imaginary beast, with a huge and hairy body, to whose attacks the children are exposed during their sleep. Other ferocious animals, such as dogs and wolves, are also invoked by mothers to induce the child to come home early or to accept food.[1]

Some of the children's games concern themselves with the establishment of a hierarchy in the order of fears. A child would move his fingers in front of another child's eyes, challenging him, by asking: 'Whom do you fear more, your father or God?' If the child blinks, then that indicates that he fears his father more than God. This is sometimes asked of a younger child without attempting to make him blink, merely to test his knowledge. The same puzzle is also posed in a slightly different manner. An older boy would ask a younger boy the question: 'There is a very small boy in the market whom nobody can see, do you fear him or me more?' The proper answer is expected to be 'him' as the invisible small boy in the market is supposed to signify God. In this type of guessing game, it is obvious that the children learn that fear is the symptom of recognizing the dominance of the supernatural authority of God over that of the worldly authority of the father. Moreover, children test each other through the expression of fear as to whose authority they first submit, the paternal or the maternal uncle.

The fear of sacred objects is also inculcated during the period of childhood. The child is made to believe in their blessings as well as their dangers. He is taken to a saint's tomb or wears a Koranic charm when he is ill. At the same time he is warned against urinating near a saint's tomb or running about in the cemetery for fear of incurring the saint's wrath. The same double attitude is inculcated in him with regard to bread, milk, treading on written paper, passing over ashes from the burning of a charm made by someone else, or stepping over someone's legs. Durkheim has pointed out that the sacred objects are invariably thought of as possessing the power of sanctity and danger simultaneously. Psycho-analysts have traced this cultural phenomenon to the emergence into the field of consciousness of the dual role of the mother, and the ambivalent attitude connected with it. This probably mirrors the process whereby 'good objects' such as the mother or her milk turn into 'bad objects' such as the denying and frustrating mother and faeces.[2]

[1] E. S. Stevens writes: 'The Silowa occupies much the same role in Iraki legend as the witch or ogress in Western fairy tales. She is a water spirit, for she dwells in the river or in caves near running streams. Her body is covered with long hair, her breasts are pendent, reaching her knees, and when she wishes to suckle her children, whom she carries on her back, she throws her breasts over her shoulder. . . . She is fond of human flesh . . . she has a partiality for human lovers.' *Folk Tales of Iraq*, p. xvi, O.U.P., 1931. The classical word for 'Silowa' is 'Silah', pl. 'Saali'.

[2] George Devereux, 'Magic Substances and Narcotics of the Mohave Indians', in *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, Vol. XXII, 1949, p. 115.

1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
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and this contributes in no small way to the satisfaction of the individual's psychological need for social recognition.[1] These are some of the forces the writer regards as maintaining some sort of healthy effect in the growing up of children in Silwa; otherwise the strain of childhood would have been unbearable in a predominantly authoritarian community where the child is regarded as its father's possession. Erich Fromm would consider such a community as thwarting the child's legitimate strivings for freedom, independence, and self-fulfilment. He maintains that the social arrangement of an authoritarian patriarchal society, frustrating man's wishes to self-realization, tends to create in him a destructive passion, which in turn must be suppressed by external or internal force.[2]

If one thinks of the disciplinary policies of childhood in terms of a straight line, at one end of which is the easy-going discipline of some primitive societies, and at the other end the harsh discipline of a society like the Japanese, it is apparent that the type of discipline to be found in Silwa is closer to that of the Japanese society than to that of those primitive societies.

The period of childhood is considered by the adult as an unimportant stage which should be quickly passed over. The writer seldom noticed grown-ups talking about their childhood, and his informants found it very difficult, even unbecoming, to recall their childhood days. The villagers' attitude towards children is indeed a mixed one, regarding them both as supernumerary entities as well as a sub-adult. A child is an economic asset as well as a social nuisance. It was shown in Chapter I how the child is continuously expected to take over from the adult the tasks which it is capable of performing as a part of its acquisition of discipline—'adab'. On the level of social action, however, it is supposed to be insignificant and to have no opinion of its own. On the whole, a son or a daughter, whether young or old, cannot replace the parent in performing formal social obligations; for example, taking gifts to circumcision and wedding ceremonies or entertaining a guest, unless there are extenuating circumstances which justify it. The child's world is always connected with the female world rather than the grown-up male world. In the ceremonial celebrations, children are usually mixed with women more than with men. If children happened to be in a male gathering, they must keep to their place, and be able to withdraw at the earliest opportunity to play on their own, or to join the female crowd. At this level of social action, the unity of the social sphere between children and grown-ups tends to break. Although the child's life is directed towards aims, responsibilities, and values similar

[1] C. M. Fleming, *Adolescence*, pp. 47–8. See also Abram Kardiner in *The Individual and His Society*, where he emphasizes the emotional meaning of work: 'There is, first, the intrinsic gratification in work as a form of mastery. This must be credited with being a basic gratification. The satisfactions derived from it are common to all forms of mastery. They give the individual a feeling of effectiveness and control' (p. 50).

[2] Erich Fromm, *Man for Himself*, pp. 135–8.

1: Ammar E, I-5 (1951) 1954
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through age and sex groups. The family does not directly play as great a part in the educative process in Silwa as in towns or cities of Egypt. An equally if not more important part is played by other children, adults other than the parents, play-groups, gossip gatherings, groups of girls going to fill their jars, or groups of boys fetching fertilizer, situations of hand-washing, tea-serving, ceremonies and celebrations, and by hundreds of other life situations which go to communicate the heritage of the village life to the growing child. In Silwa, like the Midwestern Highlands of Guatemala, 'the heritage of the group is communicated in situations much less clearly defined than institutions . . . (through) that multitude of daily situations in which by word or gesture, some part of the tradition is communicated from one individual to another'.[1] The literary and written aspects of the village Islamic culture are left to a few literary people who teach or recite the Holy Book and enlighten the other villagers on religious matters; while theoretical religious knowledge is the concern of a few, all are concerned with the ritual aspects of religion such as prayers and fasting.

Moreover, the slow rate of social change in the village has hardly affected the aims and methods of socialization. Children are reared approximately in the same way as their parents and are expected to imbibe the same cultural assumptions, and follow the same path. A qualification must be added here. Growing up in a folk homogeneous society does not necessarily mean a smooth, painless or unhampered process. But however traumatic or frustrating the life experience is, it can nevertheless be presented to each growing individual as viable, and to that extent, bearable.[2] Intensive case studies would certainly reveal the various problems of social adjustment, and show the compensatory mechanisms of those who fail to measure up to the ritual assumptions and requirements.

[1] Robert Redfield, 'Culture and Education in the Midwestern Highlands of Guatemala', in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLVIII, 1943, p. 644.

[2] Margaret Mead, 'The Implications of Culture Change for Personality Development', in *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. XVII, 1947, p. 633.

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ADOLESCENCE, SEX AND MARRIAGE

In Artas, the Palestinian village studied by Granqvist, the uneasiness in this stage of adjustment presents itself in a different way. As marriage in Artas is in the patrilocal residence, the bride, before leaving her family, would make demands on the bridegroom's family and make sure that her family's wishes have been fulfilled, before she is placed on the camel going to her bridegroom's house.[1]

As for the bride, she now starts her seclusion in the house till she brings forth a child and is never allowed to go out and never seen by a married man, even her husband's father and her married brothers. Her main job is to attend to her husband, to receive him when he knocks at the door, and to serve food to him. One of the main difficulties of newly married girls is their adjustment to the new situation, where they must break away from their previous life and assume a responsible role. The difficulties, however, are smoothed out in the matrilocal marriage period, where the bride's mother is really the one who, behind the scenes, provides her son-in-law with his requirements. This attention of the mother to her son-in-law usually makes her unmarried sons and daughters jealous, as epitomized in the common saying referred to earlier. Under her mother's supervision and instructions, the bride comes to learn the appropriate conduct of womanhood. It is probably during this period that she receives sex information as the occasion arises. Moreover, her previous playmates do not sever their contacts with her; they still go to see her and 'have a hand dip of henna' with her; but she is not allowed to join their games or play with 'toys'. Other women, especially relatives, come to see her, give her advice and praise her 'halo' and jewellery. On the whole it seems that the girl comes under her mother's authority at this stage more than any other stage of her development. During this period of seclusion the direct influence of the mother is undoubtedly supreme, even much more than the husband. The latter, in fact, is not expected to linger in his bride's house. Except for his mealtimes, he should not remain in the house except when he comes in late at night after finishing his entertainments with his friends.

Indeed, the first year of marriage, for both the husband and wife, bristles with difficulties that may lead to divorce. According to my informant, Mahmoud, marriages are more prone to break down during the first year than at any later period. This statement seems plausible, since during the first year especially, the economic, social and psychological adjustments or maladjustments not only between the spouses, but also between their families, develop.[2] The amount of talk, gossip and vitupera-

[1] Hilma Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village*, Vol. II, Helsingfors, 1935, p. 72.

[2] For a well-documented discussion on the economic, social and psychological factors curbing the Moslem's nominal freedom of divorce, see Hilma Granqvist, *op. cit.*, Chapter X. According to official statistics the ratio of divorce per thousand of the population of Egypt for the five years between 1942 and 1946 was 8·3, 9·2, 9·6, 8·9, 8·1 respectively. *Pocket Census of 1948*, Govt. Press, Cairo, 1950, p. 47 (in Arabic).

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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FERTILITY RITES

Women also come here if they are experiencing difficulty in suckling their children, and donkeys which are not producing sufficient milk for their young are likewise driven here. The ceremony is the same as that for childlessness, and after its performance the milk is supposed to be much increased in quantity.

Many years ago my brother, Dr A. M. Blackman, recorded a custom of hanging skins of foxes over the doors of houses in Lower Nubia.[1] On inquiry he found that they were believed to be charms "to protect the women of the household, preventing miscarriages, and helping them in labour." In some parts of Egypt if a mother wants another child she will attach a small piece of fox's skin to the head of her last-born living child. After doing this she hopes that her wish will be granted.

The pollen of a male palm is used as a charm to produce fertility; some of it is mixed in water, which is drunk by the woman who wishes to have a child. The fertilization of the female palm with such pollen might naturally account for the belief in its efficacy as a charm to cure a woman of barrenness.

It is believed that if a woman who has lately had a child goes to see another woman who has recently given birth to a child which did not survive, the latter will not conceive again. The happy mother whose child lives must wait until her friend's child has been dead for fifteen days, when all danger of seeing her will be over. However, should such an unfortunate visit be paid before the fifteen days have expired, the bereaved mother must counteract the danger of future childlessness by visiting the tomb of her dead child and going through the ceremony of stepping over its body already described. She may as an alternative choose one of the other rites for the same purpose.

I will now describe some of the methods employed to prevent conception. One I have mentioned already in connexion with the stones in and beside the pool. If an expectant mother wishes to have no more children for a certain period she will take the seeds of a castor-oil plant and, on the day after her child is born, she will eat one of the seeds if she wishes to be without another child for one year, two if for two years, and so on. This is believed to be invariably effective. If a woman has a spite against another who wishes to have a child she may secretly insert some castor-oil seeds into her food, and so render her unable to conceive.

[1] *Man*, vol. ix (1909), pp. 9 f.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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figure (Fig. 119), supposed to represent the man he wishes to injure. If wax is used the figure is sometimes thrown into a fire, incantations being uttered by the magician at the same time. If clay is used the figure may be placed in water. As these figures disappear in the fire or water the man who is to be affected gradually dies. Such an extreme measure is very rarely resorted to—indeed, it would be exceedingly difficult to find a magician who would consent to carry it out, even with the promise of a large sum of money. There is supposed to be no cure for the man against whom such magic is worked; he is bound to die, as the figures cannot be rescued from the fire or the water.

FIG. 119. WAX FIGURES USED IN BLACK MAGIC

Such wax or clay figures are more commonly used to bring about rather less direful results in the people whom they are supposed to represent. Needles or pins are stuck into them, or, if these are not available, the sharp points of palm-leaves may be used instead. Wherever the pin or other sharp point is inserted into the figure the person who is represented will feel pain in the corresponding part of his body, until the pin is removed from the clay or wax figure. This pricking of the figure should always be done by the magician himself, who accompanies such actions with the recitation of magic spells. If the man who is being thus injured guesses what is causing him pain he will go to the magician and induce him by larger payments of money to remove the pin from the figure. The moment this is done the pain felt by the man ceases.

Similar practices have been resorted to up to quite recent times in more than one part of the British Isles, and are still current in many parts of the world, as the collection of such objects in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford well demonstrates.

I have already at the beginning of this chapter stated that some people are believed to be possessed by sheikhs, these sheikhs being among the many subterranean peoples whose existence is firmly believed in by the peasants. Such sheikhs may be good or bad; if the former they will assist the person they possess, if the latter they will require to be constantly appeased.

Possession may come suddenly, no one knows how. It is also

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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lot of water will come from the eye, and then it will be found that all the inflammation has disappeared.

The Arabs have a custom of attempting to cure sores, headaches, and other complaints by branding with red-hot nails. A man came to me on one occasion with a terrible skin disease on his hands and wrists. An Arab had burnt him in several places across both wrists, and these burns, having become septic, had, of course, made him much worse. I dressed his hands every day till I left the village, by which time he was much better.

A similar remedy is sometimes employed for fever or for nervous disorder. A fire of cow-dung (the ordinary household fuel) is lit, and some iron nails are placed in it till they are red-hot. The patient then squats on the ground with his arms tightly folded in front, and a man holds him securely in this attitude. Another man removes a nail from the fire, and with it burns one or two places on the back of the patient's neck. The nervous trouble supposed to be cured by this means is that caused by seeing an apparition in the fields at night or by some other alarming manifestation. One is inclined to speculate on the state of the patient's nerves *after* undergoing this exceedingly painful treatment!

The following is a cure for a broken bone. Some gum is obtained from an acacia-tree, and, after being pounded and passed through a fine sieve, is mixed with water. This mixture is spread on a piece of thick brown paper, which is then placed immediately over the injured part of the body. It is left in this position for a week, when it is removed, for by that time it is believed that the broken bone will have united again.

When visiting the market on market-day at one village I saw a man seated a short distance from the crowds of buyers and sellers. On approaching him I found that children suffering from very sore and inflamed eyes were being brought to him by their mothers. On examining the eyes of a child he remarked, "Yes, he has got them," and told the mother, who was sitting on the ground in front of him, to hold the child face-downward. He then placed one hand on the back of the child's head, and with the other he gently rubbed its eyes (Fig. 126). Almost immediately numbers of tiny grubs fell from them on to the ground, where I saw them wriggling about. He did this with each child in turn, usually with the same result. I have seen him remove grubs from the eyes of children on more than one occasion, and I have never been able

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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CHAPTER XIII

THE EVIL EYE AND OTHER SUPERSTITIONS

IN the preceding chapter I referred to the neglected condition of the children, partly due to the women's utter ignorance of hygiene and also to the fact that facilities for keeping themselves and their children clean are practically non-existent in Egyptian villages. My readers must bear in mind that all the water, for whatever purpose it may be required, has to be fetched by the women from the Nile, or a canal, or even some dirty pool, all of which may be situated at some distance from their homes. But the main reason for the children being so dirty is the belief in, and dread of, the evil eye, or eye of envy, which is to be found practically all over the world. It has not even died out in modern England, where, to my own knowledge, it exists in parts of the eastern counties, and it may possibly exist in other counties also. To the Egyptian peasants the fear of the evil eye is a very real terror from infancy to old age, and on that account it is considered unwise to let a child look too beautiful in case some one may cast the eye of envy over it. Certainly the dirt allowed to accumulate on some of these poor little specimens of humanity should afford a very effective protection against any and every evil eye!

To counteract this baneful influence innumerable methods are adopted, of which I will give a few examples.

If after a woman has received a visit from friends and neighbours her child shows signs of illness she immediately thinks that one of her guests has cast the evil eye on it. She accordingly cuts out a human figure in paper (Fig. 132), and then takes a pin, repeats the name of each of her late visitors in turn, pricking the paper figure at the mention of each name. When she has repeated all the names she sets the figure on fire, saying to her child, "Look at it, look at it!" When it is consumed, she takes a piece of alum, rubs it on the child's forehead, and then places it in a fire, over which she passes the child seven times. When the alum is burnt out, leaving only a charred substance, the mother takes it out of

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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Upper Egypt

had been erected, wherein butchers and vendors of sweetmeats, toys, and other wares plied their trade, to all appearance doing excellent business (Fig. 143).

Eggs dyed a bright cerise or yellow are a special feature of all these *mawālid*, and those who sold them attracted a considerable number of customers. These coloured eggs, which are also sold on the Coptic Easter Monday, are used for two games, which are played as follows. In one game two boys or men take part, each grasping an egg in his hand. One of them knocks his egg against that of his opponent, and the man whose egg is not cracked is regarded as the winner and takes the cracked egg of his adversary. In the other game several eggs are arranged in a row on the ground, and a number of men sit at a certain distance away from them. Each in turn rolls an egg toward the row of eggs facing him, and the man who first succeeds in cracking one of them wins the lot. These games are played by large numbers of people at all *mawālid*, but never by women and girls. Coloured eggs are used for games, in many cases similar to these, in various parts of Europe, especially in the Balkan states. Again, in some of the Northern counties of England coloured eggs are still used in a game played on Easter Monday which closely resembles the second Egyptian game.

FIG. 141. FEMALE 'SERVANT' OF THE SHEIKH UMBĀRAK, WRAPPED IN THE SHEIKH'S FLAG ON THE DAY OF HIS MŪLID

There were other attractions at this *mūlid* of the sheikh Umbārak. In the palm-grove a conjurer in one part and a poet

[Text continues on p. 255]

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt
Coots MR10

managed to secure a good photograph of them and of their bearers as they stood grouped under the sheikh's tree together with a few musicians and the inevitable crowd (Fig. 145).

These *mawālid*, when well conducted, are quite harmless, and are one of the very few pleasurable excitements enjoyed by the peasants. Most of those at which I have been present have been quite orderly, but much depends on the officer in charge of the district in which

FIG. 145. SHEIKH'S BANNERS AND THEIR BEARERS

they are being held. If he is neglectful, and does not see that order is kept and objectionable shows prohibited, the festivals can degenerate into anything but wholesome recreation for the people.

The modern Egyptian *mawālid* show striking resemblances to English fairs, especially as celebrated during the Middle Ages and on into the seventeenth century. These too were associated in every case with a saint, and also with trading. Our modern fairs, though often still named after the saints in whose honour they were originally held, have now lost their religious significance.

A monastery in Middle Egypt situated on the high-desert edge, which at this spot approaches close to the Yūsuf Canal, is one of a number dedicated to Māri Girgis, our St George (Fig. 146). The

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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Upper Egypt
Ancient Egypt MR5

CHAPTER XVIII

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ANALOGIES

I WISH to make it quite clear that in this chapter I am by no means supplying a full list of the ancient analogies with which I am acquainted. My intention is merely to give the reader some idea of the importance of this particular branch of my research. In my strictly scientific account of the *fellāḥīn*, to which I have referred in the Preface, the question of survivals will be dealt with very fully.

As I am shortly publishing a book which deals exclusively with Coptic saints and Muslim sheikhs, to be followed later by a book on modern Egyptian medicine-men and their remedies, I am here omitting all references to the numerous and important survivals connected with the cults of those saints and sheikhs, and I am only just touching on the resemblances of the modern to the ancient magico-medical prescriptions.

An ancient Egyptian town and village must have presented much the same appearance as an Upper Egyptian town and village of to-day.[1] Then as now (pp. 27 f.) the better sort of house had one or more upper stories,[2] was doubtless often whitewashed or colour-washed,[3] and had a staircase probably (as is now frequently the case) of brick, leading from floor to floor and on to the roof, where were erected exactly the same mud granaries (p. 28) as are to be seen there nowadays (see Fig. 154).

On the roof of an ancient as of a modern house were often placed two *malāḳif* (singular *malḳaf*),[4] the ventilators by means of which the north and south wind are conveyed into the house during the hot weather.

[1] See A. M. Blackman, *Luxor and its Temples* (London, 1923), p. 4; T. E. Peet and C. L. Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten*, Part I (London, 1923), p. 54 and note 1.

[2] A. Wiedemann, *Das alte Ägypten* (Heidelberg, 1920), p. 168; A. Erman and H. Ranke, *Aegypten und aegyptisches Leben im Altertum* (Tübingen, 1923), pp. 190 ff.; W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1923), Pl. 60a.

[3] Nina de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth* (London, 1923), Pl. XXXIV, p. 30.

[4] A. Erman and H. Ranke, *op. cit.*, pp. 205 f.; A. Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 168; N. de Garis Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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[1] Dr G. Scholem refers me to T. Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel* (Hamburg, 1914), p. 22, who states that "The tribes of demons are governed by princes. There are seven chief princes. . . . They are called Murrah, Maghab, el-Aḥmar, Barkân, Shemhûrish, el-Abyaḍ, and el-Meimûn." See also E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du nord* (Algiers, 1909), p. 120.

[2] See note 1. Barakân, or Barkân, means 'Shining One.' He appears as Barakon in an invocation addressed to him in the *Clavicula Salomonis*; see H. Gollancz, *Sepher Maphteah Shelomo* (*Book of the Key of Solomon*), *an exact Facsimile of an original Book of Magic in Hebrew* (Oxford, 1914), pp. xii ff.

[3] For the use of his name in charms see F. Lexa, *La magie dans l'Égypte antique de l'ancien empire jusqu'à l'époque copte* (Paris, 1925), vol. i, p. 158; vol. ii, pp. 169 f., 171 f., 174 f., 178, 182.

[4] Otherwise not known. He is not included in the well-known list in note 1.

3: Ayrout M-5 (ca. 1935) 1945
MR13 Fellahin MR13

Chapter VII

THE FELLAH AT HOME

On his return from the East in 1932, Christian de Caters spoke as follows about the houses of the fellaheen (*Echo de Paris*, 16.6.32): "I have seen the poorest villages of a Mancha in Spain, the hovels of the Cape Verde islanders, and the reed huts of the Lundas, a savage tribe in the depths of Angola, but nowhere have I seen greater distress than in Egypt."

On the other hand, Lozach, in *Le Delta du Nil* (Cairo, 1935), finds that the fellah's home is "not far behind the stone or mud huts with a thatched roof which are still common in many parts of Central and Western Europe. It is in any case far superior to the miserable hovels in which most of the peasants of Tunisia or Algeria live".

Which statement is one to believe? It all depends on the point of view and the standard of reference. Such comparisons are in all probability misleading, especially when the cases compared are not parallel. A personal impression or opinion is not so useful as an actual description of the fellah's home, and of his life in it. This will show us how far the house is suited not merely to the fellah but also to the land he works on.

We have seen the public parts of the village. Let us look now at the private dwellings of the fellaheen, without concerning ourselves with the big house belonging to the landowner or the residence of the *'omda*.

There are certain exceptions to be noticed first: —

1. Stone houses, which are found on the edges of the desert in Upper Egypt. The nearness of the cliffs makes it possible for the fellah to transport the stones for building in his basket. Some of these houses have a vaulted or domed roof.

2. Red-brick houses, without pointing, which are quite common in Lower Egypt. These presuppose a certain standard of living.

branches in use to adorn the bride's canopy and the tombs of the dead. 245

The day after his wedding the bridegroom strips a palm branch, splits it at the point and goes to touch his friends with it for good luck. To strike a man with a green palm branch brings blessing. Palms to the fellah are like flowers, and there can be no procession or wedding or funeral without them. [585 777]

The pollen of a male date-palm mixed with water is a charm against childlessness. On the other hand, to swallow one, two, or three date-stones will prevent childbearing for as many years. 777 842

Magic and medicine are confused in the traditional use of the products of the earth to preserve or recover health. The startling pharmacopœia of the fellaheen is to be put down partly to experience but chiefly to superstition. They have taken whatever came to hand and used it : for the bowels an infusion of palm or maize leaves ; for the eyes onion juice or charred cotton ; for broken bones acacia gum ; for swellings or rheumatism bandages of hemp. The treatment clearly depends on what plants they have within reach, and the effect, in great part, on credulity. 755 757 278

These peasant traditions, unquestioned and irresistible, are largely superstitious. Miss Blackman gives the greater part of her book (**) to describing superstition in its thousand forms, as if the whole life of the fellaheen were passed in these sub-rational affairs. Too much weight, probably is laid on fellah superstitions. They arerec orded with a certain condescension, and in spite of all that has been published on the subject there are still many gaps. However, there is no point in enriching the collection, since there is nothing original in it. Most of these customs are common to the whole of the East or to Islam. The rest, which go back beyond Christianity to ancient Egypt, are one more illustration of the changelessness which was the subject of our first chapter. 183 171 178

It is certain that these benumbing practices of the fellaheen are even more effective than their manner of life in isolating them and bringing about that withdrawal which 'man creates for himself by the whole structure which he founds on his own labour'. To a way of living which itself weighs him to the ground the fellah adds the burden of these ritual observances.

3: Ayrout M-5 (ca. 1935) 1945
MR13 Fellahin MR13

CONCLUSION

THE DISTRESS OF THE FELLAH

In comparison with the fellah's miserable lot a century ago or under the Mamelukes, his present situation is an undoubted improvement. He can no longer be killed like a dog, plundered at will, or commandeered as a slave.

In comparison with the woes of the negro, Malagasy, Chinese, or Tonkinese peasant, the fellah might seem even more fortunate. He is undernourished but does not die of hunger. He has clothes to wear, and, when holidays come round, money to spend on amusements.

True, but there are two kinds of poverty. There is physical poverty, which means insufficiency of resources and a lack of the conditions necessary for the maintenance and development of physical health; and there is intellectual and moral poverty, which means ignorance and a lack of human dignity, no less essential to the life of the spirit.

Physical poverty has a more immediate effect on the worker and, precisely because it is more noticeable, arouses more pity. Hence all these efforts to improve the fellah's house, his health, and his finances. Hence also the habitual tone of his complaints, and of the speeches made about him. "This is no new question, but a subject that has figured in every Speech from the Throne since the beginnings of our parliament. We are not suffering from a diversity of evils, each of which can be treated separately, but from a single fundamental evil, and that is the low standard of life of the masses of the people in the countryside; a standard so low that it offends all human feelings, and stains the reputation of our country. The people of Egypt is not composed of those 160 or 200 thousand persons who are comparatively well off, but of sixteen million souls" (").

In this low standard of living we must also include moral poverty, which since it affects the very sources of human life

F 113

See E.W. Lane : MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE MODERN EGYPTIANS : Everyman Library,

F [192] 63a. *T.*—There seems no justification for connecting the Arabic RIF with the French RIVE.

64. In the United States, however, for example in Tennessee, cotton carnivals take place. In the town of Memphis exhibitions and processions with carts are organised for four days in May. The first festival took place in 1931, and very soon the carnival became an extremely popular holiday.

F [527 171]

See J. Taylor : TENNESSEE TABLEAUX, in THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE for May 1939.

65. Winifred Blackman : THE FELLAHIN OF UPPER EGYPT : Harrap, 1927.

66. *T.*—Retranslated from the French, which gives no reference.

67. Muhammad El-Kolàly : ESSAI SUR LES CAUSES DE LA CRIMINALITÉ EN EGYPTE : Librairie de Droit et de Jurisprudence, Paris, 1939.

F [563 443 186] 68. KHAWAGA is the usual term for a Christian merchant, generally a Greek, but in Upper Egypt often a Copt. In Cairo and Lower Egypt it is the usual word for a European. Its use implies a certain respect, and even servility.

C F [175 346] 69. *T.*—The early hermits of the Egyptian deserts were first assembled into monastic communities by St. Pachomius about 320 A.D. near the existing village of Faw, just south-west of Nag' Hammadi in Upper Egypt. There are some remains of a church, which was probably founded by him. His name, in the form BAKHOUM, is still very common in Coptic families.

See A.J.B. in THE ANCIENT COPTIC CHURCHES OF EGYPT.

70. REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMISSION ON THE DRAFT BUDGET FOR 1941-2.

71. Speech in the Chamber of Deputies, December 1939.

F 191 72. *T.*—Egyptian colloquial Arabic is as far from the language of the Koran as Italian is from Latin. In theory the written style of modern Arabic is Koranic,

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

113 his fellow countrymen. No book since the days of Lane's
114 epoch-making work on the *Manners of the Modern Egyptians* (first published in 1836) has appeared to add, to any appreciable extent, to our knowledge of the folklore and magic of the dwellers of the Nile Valley. One recent book by Miss Blackman, *The Fellāḥīn of Upper Egypt* (London, 1928) does attempt to survey the ground, but it is only a tentative, albeit a praiseworthy, effort. Her photographic illustrations are especially interesting. But a great deal still remains to be done, and it is to be hoped that Miss Blackman and others working in the same field of research, may receive the assistance from the public
[123] that they merit. There are some secret rites, such as those of the *Zār* (see pages 64-7), which can be properly investigated only by a woman.

113 Similar superstitious practices observed in neighbouring Moslem lands, it may be noted in passing, may be usefully
● [107] derived from Dr. T. Canaan's *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel* (Hamburg, 1914) and from E. Doutté's *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Algiers, 1909), as well as from Westermarck's *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, 1926). Mention must also be made of Herklots' *Islam in India* (new ed. by W. Crooke, Oxford, 1921), which is a mine of folk customs. As for the instruments employed by North African village surgeons, an illuminating study of these will be found in Hilton Simpson's *Arab Surgery and Medicine* (London, 1922). Folk-medicine among the Moroccan womenfolk is also recorded by A. R. de Lens in his *Pratiques des harems marocains* (Paris, 1925). M. Rouyer's *Notice sur les médicamens usuels des Égyptiens* in the *Description de l'Égypte* (2nd ed.), xi, (1822), pp. 429–460, does not deal with the superstitious medical practices of the people; while Dr. Chafey Bey's lecture to the Institut Égyptien, entitled *De la médecine des empiriques en Égypte* (*Bulletin* No. 4, pp. 25, 44–46, 505–512) is but a cursory introduction to the subject. Much of the folk-medicine of Moslems can be extracted from the numerous Arabic books on magic, and particularly from such a treatise as the traditional medicine of the prophet Muḥammad, the so-called *Al-Ṭibb al-Nabawī*, of which a French translation, *La médecine du Prophète*, was published by Perron at Algiers in

FOLK MEDICINE IN MODERN EGYPT

Study and research have shown that the cases in which the "treatment" of the *Fargān* proved successful were caused by dogs that were not rabid. It happened one day that a dog bit a man who was passing by. This man went to the encampment of the *Fargān* in search of healing. They "treated" him with cautery like the others. Not many days elapsed until there appeared in him symptoms of real hydrophobia, and night and day he was heard barking shrilly, behaving like a dog in all his actions, while his teeth were gnashing in terror. In this state he continued for a space, then he died.

Whatever may be the truth or falsity of the claim made by the *Fargān*, they have only to bring their proofs and, when their assertion is substantiated, we shall be satisfied with the glory that our common people are better than the élite of Western savants. But when we consider the matter we find that such high skill in the healing art is not achieved as a favour, but by habitual toil and industry. And the physician Pasteur, whose fame has filled the two hemispheres, did not gain his immense wealth and widespread reputation, except by devoting his life to the discovery of what he achieved in the treatment of this disease (namely, hydrophobia) after its cure was (thought) impossible. The French government built for him at their own expense a special hospital to which patients go from all quarters of the inhabited world. As for Egypt we do not forget that the Khedivial Government has sent, for the past six years, five of those afflicted with hydrophobia [p. 72] to Paris to be benefited by healing at the hand of that famous physician. So if the *Fargān* are to be trusted in what they assert, why then are they niggardly in publishing the truth, and averse to the praiseworthy place in History that would be theirs on their revealing it?

Long ago, Galen said that those bitten by dogs benefited by being given daily a drachm of burned powder of river crabs, and the illness would cease after forty days.

The doctors of India use for those afflicted with hydrophobia a draught of the Indian *Ḥuḍaḍ* or *Ḥaḍaḍ*, a drachm of it upon an empty stomach for forty days, then the hydrophobia will cease. But it is not of the slightest advantage except it be accompanied by, what the *Fargān* do in our country, "ironing"

4:Walker E-4 (no date) 1934 MR13 Fellahin MR13
(ca. 1890) Libyan Bedouin MT9

for the space of forty days. The true reason for this the ancients did not know (or if they knew it, they did not speak about it, or it did not reach us). But the erudite Pasteur says that in this space is the crisis in which the invalid is between the two states of recovery and danger.

XXXVI

THE ZĀR

(We do not know the true etymology of the word Zār, whether from Zārā, a town in the North of Īrān; or from Zār, an Arab village East of Yemāma. Most take it from *Ziyāra* [visitation], meaning thereby the coming of the "Masters"[1] into the presence.)

Fortune did not grant us to be eye-witnesses of the ceremony of the Zār so that we might speak of it at first hand, since the Kūdīyāt[2] object to the presence of men or even boys, so we relate this on the authority of the famous authoress [p. 73] Zainab Efendī Fawwāz. It was published in No. 200 of the valuable *Nile Journal* (*Jarīdat-al-Nīl*).[3] She says:

"There is a company of women called Kūdīyāt. They are those who practice the Zār. Such women are the most undesirable and most wicked of charlatans, for they are female quacks. They do things which souls loathe, and at which bodies shudder. As for the women who agree with them they almost worship them on account of the powers to which they lay claim. They even go so far as to believe that if any woman speak in her own home, the *Kūdīya* will hear in her own dwelling. The reason for this is, that the *Shaiḵh* or the *'Afrīt* [or demon] who possesses the *Kūdīya*, transmits the words to his devotee. For this reason the woman cannot speak, nor if

[1] [i.e. the presiding women who are "possessed" by male spirits. Tr.]
[2] [The chief women of the party (*ṭā'ifa*) of the Zār, or rulers of its meetings (*agwāḵ*, plural of *gōḵa*).]
[3] [See M. Hartmann: *op. cit.*, *index*.]

5:Blackman E-5 (1923) 1926 MR13 Fellahin MR13

woman friend, will sometimes carry the child early in the morning to a *zirîbeh* made of *bûs* (dried *dura* stalks) in which the sheep are kept in the field at night. She also takes a knife with her, and, entering the *zirîbeh*, will hand the child over to the shepherd. The shepherd, having placed the child on its back on the ground, will take the knife which the woman brought with her and will place the blunt edge against the child's throat and pretend to cut it. The child will then start crying, upon which the man will remove the knife and return the child to the woman who brought it. It is believed that good angels watch over the sheep, as they are looked upon as gentle animals, and that these angels, on hearing the child cry, will drive away its mother's *karînch* who has caused the illness by clutching at the child's throat. According to my informant, this belief is common all over Egypt.

I could quote many instances of illness caused to children by their mother's *karînch* during this dangerous period of seven years.

That a woman's *karînch* may sometimes perform a kindly action is shown in the following belief. One of the many devices resorted to by a woman whose child has died and who has failed to produce further offspring is as follows. The would-be mother will lie down between the lines on a railway track, remaining in this position while the train passes over her. One of the reasons given for this practice is that when a mother is thus frightened her *karînch* will come to her with the soul of her dead child and cause it to re-enter the mother. This implies a belief in reincarnation, and I have obtained further information which points to a definite belief in rebirth. For an ancient example of belief in reincarnation reference may be made to the well-known Tale of the Two Brothers.[1]

The following is a translation of the written charm worn by an expectant mother who has reason to fear harm being done to her offspring by her *karînch*. The charm is obviously Coptic, but it is used by Muslim mothers as well as those professing Christianity: "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for He is a great Lord who created the seen and the unseen things; He whom we cannot see with our eyes, and with whom no evil will dwell; who also knoweth well all things that will happen in the future; to whom all the angels cry, saying 'Hallowed be Thy Name'; from whom all evils fly away; who is praised by all things in the Heaven and all the earth, for He is a mighty Lord. Oh, mighty God, I ask Thee to protect N.N., who is carrying my protection, and protect what is in her womb, and him whom she will nurse with her milk, from the evil *karînch*, for the sake of Thy mighty ring (*i.e.* the charm square)."

The probable meaning of the square is, so I was told, "Go on Gabriel, go on Michael, go on Raphael, go on Suriyal, go on Maniyal, for the sake of our Mighty God, and burn this *karînch* in the fire." These are said to be the words of King David. (Pl. XIV, Fig. 3.) 7/A

[1] Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, ii, pp. 16 ff.

7/A [See category 116, plate facing P. 168 -- Analyst]

5:Blackman E-5 (1923) 1926 MR13 Fellahin MR13

[176] [114] [184]

was obtained in Middle and Upper Egypt, as, indeed, was Prof. Seligman's), or that it is mere "men's talk," the men possibly preferring to think that their "double" is a female companion, rather than one of their own sex.

In any case, the belief in the existence of this "double," of whichever sex it may be, is widely spread and deeply rooted in the lives of the *fellâḥîn*.[1]

FIG. 1.

[171]

The above information is certainly suggestive of survivals of the ancient Egyptian ideas about the *Ka*. The modern idea that the *ḳarîn* is born at the same time as its human counterpart calls to mind the sculptured scenes in the temples of Luxor and Deir el-Bahri depicting the god Khnum modelling the royal child and its *Ka* (Fig. 1), and their simultaneous birth.

[184]

[1] Since writing this article, I have been to Egypt again, and I have found that the belief that the *ḳarîn* is of the opposite sex to its human "double" is more or less confined to the educated classes. Further study on this point goes to prove that my assertion that a man has a *ḳarîn* and a woman a *ḳarînah* is correct, at any rate among many of the *fellâḥîn*. I have lately come across an interesting variety in this belief, but I hope to investigate it more thoroughly before venturing to publish it.

/81 cont'd/

3. The Assistants:

Attached to the Kūdiya are her assistants. The central figure among them is her daughter. The assistants cannot be invested until every one of them has made a Zar of her own and thereby passed the ordeal. All wear amulets and all are supposed to be possessed by spirits. They assist by forming the accompaning chorus and by dancing during the Zar-ceremony. They also form a special musical band.

4. The musical band (1):

There are many different kinds of musical bands which find use in Zar. They can be classified as follows:

(a) the special band of the Kūdiya: It consists of women who use drums and frame drums (duff) and play in the Kūdiya's house once or twice weekly.

(b) Abu-el-Leel: This band consists of men. There is a flute-player (nāy), a drummer on a frame-drum with jingling disks and rings, other drummers and a dancer with long hair who also uses brass clappers or castanets. (2) (Saggat). He is the central figure of the band and the Zar-ceremony. He dances gracefully, turning his head with the rhythm of the music and accentuating his movements by sounding the castanets between his fingers. He directs the women by gestures and glances to dance in a circle and does not allow them to leave it until they are completely exhausted.

(c) El-Tambura: This is the most important band; its members are all Sudanese and consist of the following persons:

(i) The Songok: he is the central figure of the band and plays the tambura (3); it is an instrument like the Grecian lyra

(1) For a description of the special musical instruments used in Zar see Curt Sachs; "The History of Musical Instruments" New York 1940, pp. 244-259. The European name is quoted first, the Arabic one given in brackets.

(2) Ibid, p. 103 and p. 455.

(3) In Egypt this instrument is called "Tambura", in Sudan and East Africa "Rababa"; it is actually a lyra. The "Rababa" is another Arabic instrument, see C. Sachs, Ibid, p. 255, 246, 253.

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/81 cont'd/

and was also found in the New Kingdom of Ancient Egypt. It is further known from Abyssinia and Nubia. /82/

(d) the Sutari: a tall slim man, wearing a white "galabiah" and a big leather belt, about 20 cm wide, embroidered with cowrie shells on the upper edge and decorated with about one hundred goat-hooves at the lower edge; in front there are two mirrors. The belt is called "El-Mangur" and fixed tightly around the hips, so that rhythmical twisting produces a distinct rattling sound. (4) This man leads the women in front of him during the dance; he has the same function as the "Abu-el-Leel" dancer. [535]

There are further some women who play the duff and drums and a gourd rattle. (5) This band is specialized on the music of Sultan El-Sudani, the sultan of the red jinn and the Habashi spirits.

All three kinds of band participate in a big Zar. One after the other they play their special tunes and songs. These songs are mostly very primitive. The words refer to the Zar which is performed for the sake of sultan ....., his attention is drawn to the sacrifices and music offered on his behalf and he is entreated to pardon the patient and not to harm her (6) any more.

5. The Sultans or "El-Asyaid" (masters):

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776

These are Jinns or spirits; they are, however, never called thus, as they are believed to be the kings and owners of land and sea, according to one of my informants. These spirits are harmful to persons they possess until their desires are fulfilled. As will be seen later on, these spirits may be classified into regional groups or families. Usually a certain group of spirits dwell in one body and it is only rarely that it is inhabited by more than one group. It is believed that a possessed individual will have to stay this way for the rest of his life, for the spirits will never leave him. The Zar-ceremony thus does not aim at getting rid of the spirit, but at inducing him not to harm the person's body, heart and brain. [755] [782]

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(4) Zenkovsky S., "Zar and Tambura in Omdurman", Sudan Notes and Records, vol. XXXI, part I, June 1950

(5) Curt Sachs, p. 26

(6) Ahmed Saleh, Folklore, Cairo 1955, p. 124

/84 cont'd/

3. Next the Kūdiya will inform the patient whether she needs a Zar-ceremony or not. If the Zar-ceremony is decided on, the Kūdiya will tell the patient which spirit took possession of her and will instruct her about the Zar-ceremony, i.e. the amulets, clothes, sacrifices etc. required by her particular spirit. The preparatory period of about one month is used by the patient with getting ready to fulfill the desires of her spirit.

4. A week before the day fixed for the Zar-ceremony, the Kūdiya will get into contact with her special musical band and have her assistants prepared for the day. The patient is also informed of the day fixed upon. She must know of this day well in advance in order to inform any woman who has made a Zar before and, of course, her relations and friends.

5. On the eve before the Zar-day the Kūdiya goes to the patients house, accompanied by her assistants and the musical band. She prepares the following important items: Incense (Bukhur), "hennah", and "El-kursi" (literal translation: "the chair"), which is like a table placed in the centre of the room in which the ceremony is to take place. A white cloth is spread over it and a tray with dishes and bowls placed on it. They contain all kinds of nuts, dates, sweets, pies, green vegetables, vine, bread, sour milk and flowers. The table is then covered with a mosquito-net, candles are lit on it and left burning until midnight. This Kursi is similar to the table of offerings a cultural element showing a continuity for millenia dating from Ancient /85/ Egypt (11). Hennah is mixed with water and rubbed on the hands or feet where it remains for several hours, then it is washed off, but a reddish tint will remain for about one month. (12)

Then the patient is brought in. The opening of the Quoran, i.e. the first Surah, is recited, drums are beaten and the Kūdiya rubs the sick woman's body with hennah. After, any other woman present can do the same to herself. The drums are beaten until midnight. This day is called "Hennah-day".

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(11) See, Translation by Erman, p. 298/99

(12) Hennah is used as a remedy for some diseases and found also use in Ancient Egypt.

/86 cont'd/ 755 786 533 535

who beat their instruments over the head of the victim until she loses her last restraint and also joins the hysterical group and eventually falls down totally exhausted. But still the demonic dancer goes round looking for new victims until there is no one left who can still dance. The music fades away and in one quarter of an hour the place is silent again. When a lady is exhausted and about to fall down, she is immediately helped by one of the assistants who hurries to lay her down, presses her head and says: "I swear to you King of the earth to forgive this patient and am ready to fulfill all your demands." The women who had been dancing utter some strange words in the Zar language which will be discussed later. [198]

After a short interval music and dancing will start again with each band playing for about one hour. The women change into the clothes demanded by every individual spirit. This will go on until midnight or 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning.

Six days later the Kūdiya again goes to the patient's house. In the afternoon she prepares a small kursi with sour milk and different kinds of sweets. Candles are lit until bed-time. Bukhur is prepared the next day and the Kūdiya unties the handkerchief. During the following year a goat or sheep must be sacrificed. 755 782

/87/ Conclusions:

1. The word: Etymologically the word Zar seems to be derived from the Arabic "Zara" = or "Ziyara" = a visit. It is probably an Arabic loan-word derived from the ancient Agao religion of the Pagan Kushites of Abyssinia, whose sky-god was called "Zar." This word is also used by the Christian Abyssinians to denote evil spirits. 755 776 [192]

   Dr. Cerulli tells us that in Abyssinia the worship of the gods of the Kushitic tribes was continued by the conquerors who only later in history brought about some changes. These gods became minor deities or nature spirits, while their former place was occupied by the gods of the conquerors; thus it happened that [171]

/87 cont'd/ 755 776 171 ●

the Agao sky-god Zar became a possessive spirit in the belief of the Abyssinians (15).

The word jar is to be found with little variations among the Abyssinians. Jar, among the Bileu, Daro among the Gongo, Yero among the Kafficho; it survived denoting an evil spirit among the Amharic speaking people in Abyssinia, (Zar), as Sar among the Somali tribes and as Jara among the Hadiya. (16)

Contrary to the specialized meanings and precise contents of the word among the different tribes of Abyssinia, we find the word Zar in Egypt, in the Sudan and in Arabia, as a general term designating possessive spirits as well as the ceremonies performed for them. Thus we can conclude that the Zar in the countries just mentioned was originally derived from Abyssinia. When a people takes over a cultural phenomenon from an other, there is a distinct tendency towards generalization. Considering the great appreciation which the beautiful Abyssinian slave-girls found in the whole Middle-East, we can assume that they brought with them both the word and the conception of the "Zar", especially as we know that many women believe in it in Abyssinia, in the Sudan, in Egypt and in Arabia. 755 776 177 [171] [171]

2. The notion: In Abyssinia as well as in the Sudan, in Egypt and in Arabia there is a notion that these spirits possess human beings, mostly women and that they never leave a body they inhabit. The history of this notion is somewhat confused in all countries with the exception of Abyssinia. There are two stories about the origin of the spirits told in Abyssinia: (17) One says that Eve had thirty children and that she hid fifteen of them when God 776 [171]

(15) Cerulli, "Zar", Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1934, p. 1217

(16) Trimingham J.S., Islam in Aethiopia, Oxford 1952, p. 257

(17) Leslau W., An Aethiopian Argot of people possessed by a spirit. Africa vol. XIX, No 3, July 1949, pp. 204/212

/87 cont'd/ 776

once came to visit her. God knew about this and ordered that the hidden fifteen must stay this way all their lives, i.e. invisible. From these invisible 15 originated the realm of the spirits or masters. It is explained by some people that Eve hid half of her children so that God may not accuse her of lust, while others say that she was afraid of the evil eye. The second story says that emperor Kaleb (18) had thirty children and that he divided his land amongst them. He ordered that half of them should rule the country during the day and the other half during the night. From the /88/ latter originated the realm of spirits.

It is believed in Egypt that each person has a brother or sister in the Jinn realm. In Pre-Islamic Arabia there was a belief or proverb saying that each poet has a brother in the jinn-kingdom who inspires him.

The present status of Zar-belief is somewhat confused in Egypt, because every cultural element which is introduced into some other country undergoes a number of changes by additions. 755 171

3. The elements:

a. the patient: mostly women in Egypt, Aethiopia and the Sudan

b. the Kūdiya: usually also a woman in all three countries, in Aethiopia called Balä Zar. Her role as a medium is everywhere the same. Her assistants in these countries are her daughter, or relatives and the musicians. [791]

c. The musical band: The instruments are everywhere the same, drums are dominating, but the bands are different. In the Sudan Zar Borri and Tambura are used and the Tambura has greater significance there than in Egypt. The Tambura instrument is kept in a special room and has a special guard. It is never taken to the patient's house, but the patient performs the ceremony in its house. The Zar Borri is considered [534]

(18) Emperor Kaleb reigned from 514-542

/88 cont'd/

755 171 [534] [776]

to be masculine, the Tambura feminine (19). Scant knowledge of the bands in Abyssinia forbids further discussion.

d. The sultans: As we have seen there are various groups of sultans in Egypt. In Abyssinia it is believed that living beings are haunted by former Gods degraded to a minor status. In the Sudan it is nearly the same as in Egypt with regard to local spirits, i.e. "Timsah" (crocodile) Turia, Nas-El-Gebal (Turia the people of the mountains) (20).

4. The ceremony: The method of determining the special spirits is different in Egypt and the Sudan. In Abyssinia and the Sudan the Kūdiya orders the musical band to play a special tune for every spirit and the patient sits quietly until she suddenly stands up and begins to dance. This is taken as a sign that the tune of the spirit has inspired and compelled her to dance. The ceremony itself is quite the same as in Egypt, including the demands of the spirits. In Abyssinia blood of the sacrificed animal is drunk. In the Sudan sweets and the bones of the animal are thrown into the river.

5. The Zar-language: There is a special Zar-language to which some Arabic words are added. It seems likely that the Zar-language is a combination of Amharic, Galla and Old-Aethiopian, the dominating language is, however, Amharic. (21) [198] [197]

The Zar, as we can see now, is either a very old practice and belief in the whole area of North-East Africa, or it might have come from Abyssinia. Basically it is formed on the fear of the unintelligible world /89/ and psychological phenomena; it satisfies the unseen powers by offerings. The violent and barbaric dance betrays a very strong African influence, especially the dominance of the

755 781 177 [171]

(19) Zenkovsky, S. Zar and Tambura in Omdurman. Sudan Notes and Records, vol. 31, part I, June 1950, p. 73

(20) Ibid, p. 70, and Trimingham J.S., Islam in the Sudan, Oxford 1949, p. 175

(21) Leslau, W. Ibid, p. 210

7: Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
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of the Egyptian plough due to its archaic age. In its relatively purest form it survive in plough type V.

2. Begining of the Greco-Roman period the Mediterranean plough extended over many parts of the Delta, and the northern part of Upper Egypt including Fayum. But we are certain that it did not exist in its pure form, at least in Fayum, and was adjusted to the double handle principle. In its pure form it persist now in Eastern Delta. This fact may be explained by the everlasting stream of Arab settlers in this part of the Delta — being geographically exposed to Arabia. Plate 8 show us that the Arabs of Palastine, and those of Hadramut use the Mediterranean plough. The same plough is used in the Oasis of Siwa, the coast West of Alexandria, and in Libya and North-west Africa. It is only Western and Central Delta which break through this continuous distribution of the Mediterranean plough. One can conclude that this plough type did not reign over the Delta as a whole, even in the Greco-Roman period. We must not imagine that as soon as it came to Egypt, it expelled the older double handled plough. We should also bear in mind that neither the Greek nor the Romans ploughed the land themselves, but formed a governing aristocracy in Egypt. It is highly probable that this plough type gained sure footing after the Arabic settlement in the Eastern Delta. This is due to the fact that the Arabs settled down and cultivated the land themselves somewhere around the 10th century. Bearing this in mind however, does not negate the pre-Arab existance of this plough in different parts of the Delta.

3. Plough type IV, which retains most of the characteristics of the type V, was affected but slightly by the Mediterranean plough. This may be prooved by the fact that the handles does not retreat or project rearwards, but are fixed at nearly right angles to the base. This is a special characteristic of the single handle of the Mediterranean plough.

4. Plough type I has been already mentioned.

5. Plough type III, has been also mentioned, but we may add that this type probably represent the newest adaptation of plough types in Egypt.

7: Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
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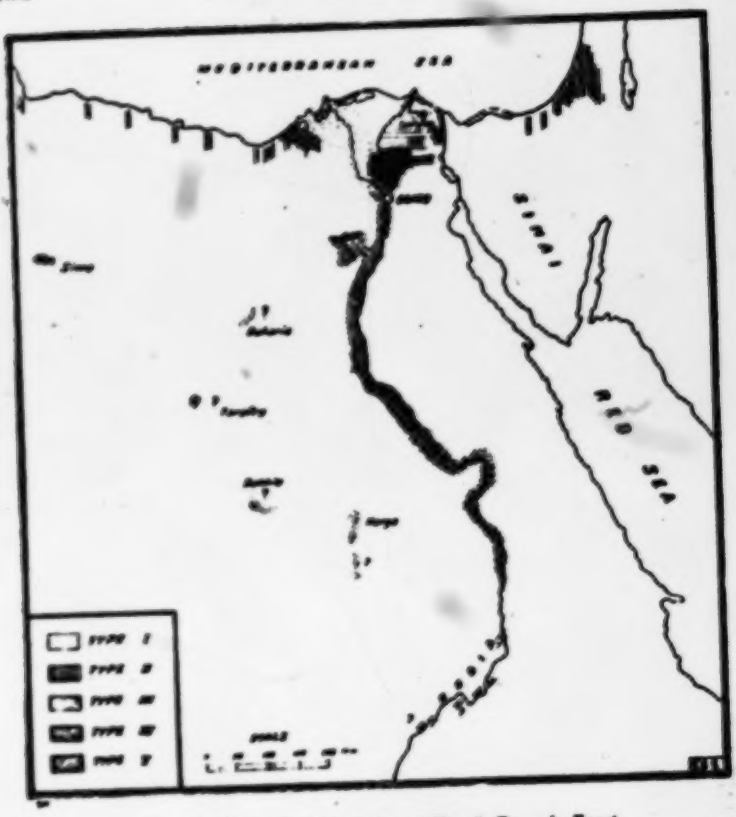

Fig. 3. Regional Distribution of Plough Types in Egypt.

RETROSPECT

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The basic plough types just described are not exclusive to Egypt. We have already seen that plough type II has a wide diffusion in North Africa and the Middle East. It may also exist in Tibit, if the drawings reproduced by Ratzel [1] are true. But already in Tibet we see another

[1] Ratzel, Vol. III, p. 384.

7: Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
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plough type, which though straight beamed, has no other similarities with the straight beamed Type III of Egypt, but had connections to ploughs of East and South-East Asia.

In any case the plough in Africa is confined to the area north of the Sahara, in addition to its isolated existence in the Highlands of Ethiopia. The southern limits of the plough was observed by Ratzel [1], who drew the southern limits from the south of Morroco, includes most of the Sahara, excluding only Mauritania, and ending by Abyssinia. Baumann disagree with Ratzel and states that the plough is to be found only in three regions :

> « ... haben wir aber in Afrika ein fast zusammenhängendes Gebiet das von Marokko über Algerien und Tunis nach Ägypten und Abessinien führt, wo alte mittelländische und westasiatische pflugkultur beheimatet ist. Die in diesent Raum einschneidenden Lücken (Libyen, Gebiete östlich des mittleren Nil) werden durch das Dazwischentreten nomadisieren der Hirtenvölker erklärt. » [2].

Thus Baumann see that the three areas where the plough is to be found in Africa are not connected due to the arrival of the nomads in Libya and Northern Sudan. This may be true but we find a native Mediterranean plough in Tripoli, and in the Oasis of Siwa. This may mean that there is some sort of connection of plough between Egypt in the East and Tunis in the West. Baumann may have been impressed by the reports of different travellers across the Sahara, who did not observe any plough in the Oasis of the Algerian and the Libyan Oasis. But Herzog rightly quotes Rohlfs who stated the existence of the plough in the Egyptian Oasis of Dahla and Harga :

> « ... dass man sich in einer Oase des pfluges bediente, war mir ganz neu. Weder hatte ich die Anwendung dieses Gerates in Draa, Tafilet, oder Tuat gefunden, noch in der grossen und ausgedehnten Oas Fessan » [3].

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[1] Ratzel, Vol. I, map facing p. 91.
[2] Baumann, p. 310.
[3] Rohlfs, p. 298, in Herzog p. 201.

7: Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
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Herzog again states[1] that the plough is to be found in middle Nubia, and says that an Egyptian governer of Nubia about 1870 tried to persuade the people to use the plough. Though he failed at the begining, the plough, since the introduction of water pumping stations, is now in use in Nubia.

Very important to us is that both the Oasis of Dahla and Harga use a plough which at least in Harga belong to plough type IV [2], and that Nubia uses also an Egyptian plough. These facts make it clear that the Egyptian Oasis and Nubia are part and parcel of the Egyptian Cultural Region as a whole. The existence of plough type I in Nubia cannot be explained by geographical facts —for as such we would have found plough type V —but can only be explained by the human hazard. If the governor of Nubia happened to be accustomed to Upper Egyptian ploughs the picture would be now different! Trade routes which connect the Oasis with Assyut and Minya Provinces from times immemorial are responsible for the existence of plough type IV in these Oasis.

PROSPECTS

One cannot deal with the plough without a few lines about its future. Egypt, through its long history depended upon agriculture for at least seven thousand years. Until 150 years ago the Egyptian agriculture was used to the method of basin irrigation, and there was generally only one crop. The rest of the year the basins were first under the water of the flood —with its renewal of the fertility —then left to dry, thus enabling the penetration of air and heat in the soil —which add to its strength. It is now the theory that the excellent crop of Basin land in souther Upper Egypt is due to both factors, but more to the resting period of soil —which is called in Egypt season of «Sharaiy or Sharaqya. This may also be applied to explain the fabulous richness of Egypt through its long history.

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[1] Herzog, pp. 205-207. On page 205 there is a photograph of a plough in Middle Nubia, which Herzog on page 206 describes as a one handle plough type. This is not the case, and it is apparent from the photograph that plough belong to the Egyptian type I, i.e., the split handled plough.

[2] Winkler, Plate 35, and text page 148.

7: Riad E-4, 5 (no date) 1960
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[END PLATE VIII]

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CURVED BEAMED PLOUGHS (MEDITERRANEAN REGION)

(a) — Southern Palestine.

(b) — Tripoli.

(c) — Tunisia (After Baumann, p. 311).

(d) — Valley Hadramut Southern Arabia (After Helfritz, Photo 37).

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
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Upper Egypt

461 kept strict time, accenting the beats, which, just as
533 in ancient times, were, besides, often marked by clapping the hands and stamping the feet. The songs of the boys, who, 4500 years ago were occupied in building our temple of the sun, will not have sounded very differently.

114 Although I collected the songs at Sa"āra (Saq-
●171 qāra), it is, of course, not to be inferred, that they
[121] all originated there, or that they are not sung elsewhere. In some cases it could be determined, that knowledge of them extended to Cairo and even to the sea between Egypt and Palestine. It is worthy of note, that several songs which others endeavored to contribute, were refused by Maḥmûd with the words: "No, those are not peasant songs." It will be very interesting to determine the geographical range of the songs, when once collections of songs from other places have been published, with exact indications of their provenience.[1] As they are songs in the Arabic language, there will be evident similarities with Arabic songs from countries outside of Egypt, in spite of their being quite distinct in general character from the non-Egyptian songs with which
114 I am acquainted. The only time which I had at my disposal for writing down the songs, were the few free hours which the work of excavation, with

[1]) F. Kern informs me, that some of the songs, with variations, are contained in the collection: Qaṭâif el-laṭâif, printed in Cairo. In the detailed treatment which he is preparing, he will follow the occurrence of our songs in vulgar Arabic texts both printed and manuscript.

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

21.

Inattentive Devotions.

×539 In 1873, in Cairo, Goldziher heard a song, in which our numbers 21 and 62 were united by a third piece. (Zeitschr. [114] d. Deutsch. morg. Ges. 33, p. 627.) According to a communi- [171] cation of F. Kern, song 21 is also sung in Burdên, near Zaqāziq (Za'ăzl').

Daḫaltŏ bēt Alla,
la'ît ḥamām aḫḍar;
bila"amû sukkar.
Ya rētni du'to!
5 *Lagl-en-nabi surto!*

[231] I have entered Allah's house,
And found gray doves;
They are fed with sugar.
O, if only I could have a taste of it!
5 — — But I have visited it for the sake of the Prophet!

1. The mosque, which the boy has entered for prayer.

2. In the colonnaded, open court (ṣaḥn) of the mosque, [788] in which stands the well for the ablutions. Here doves often alight. Aḫḍar designates the color gray as well as green, although the latter is more commonly the case. (Lane I p. 321.)

3. He reproves himself for his childish, worldly thought. [770] "It", that is, the house of Allah.

9: Klunzinger D-5 (1863-1875) 1878
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

again repairs to the sacred apartments of those denied to all but himself.

In the feeling of the Moslim the harems are not citadels of jealousy, in which the husband keeps penned up a considerable flock of luxurious indolent beauties. This representation, so current in the land of the Franks, is spurned by the Oriental with indignation. The women's apartments are rather places sacred and inviolable, where the *harîm* (singular *harme; hârem* is meaningless), that is "the prohibited," the women, the *family*, and therefore the husband's dearest treasure must be guarded from profane glances and frivolous influences. As above remarked, they are by no means imprisoned, with the exception perhaps of the women of the highest ranks, they are merely kept and brought up, so that they may shut themselves off by their veils both in the home and outside from all strange men; among themselves they enjoy the freest intercourse. Such a harem existed already among the ancient Greeks under the less hostilely regarded name of *gynaikeion*, and even yet the Greek women are not completely emancipated, and are very strictly looked after. Besides, the native Christian women, at least in Upper Egypt, are even more than those of the Moslim "prohibited." Among the ancient Egyptians, however, they were very free, and went unveiled. In consequence of being thus shut up the oriental women have almost come to form a separate caste, whose laws the men have to respect. This caste has its female sheikhs, for which dignity the midwives and bathing women in particular are selected, has its medical art, its songs and music, its fashions, almost its own language indeed, at least so far as expressions are concerned, and unlimited rule over the little children belonging to it. From the round of its meetings even the master of the house is inexorably excluded. Of course, according to the law, the woman is the servant of the man; she has not the right to sit at a common table with her husband; on the street he shyly avoids his veiled spouse; she is even treated by religion as an object of pollution, contact with which demands a full bath before the believer can again perform his devotions; and when men-

9: Klunzinger D-5 (1863-1875) 1878
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tion, from which even the displaced functionary and his abettors do not escape. The hangman's assistant of yesterday is sentenced to be hanged, the bastinadoer to be beaten, the *baskâtib* or chief secretary to imprisonment, immense taxes are imposed, and all decisions are set down on a sheet of paper. There is no pardon for the condemned unless on the payment of a few piasters as backshish. Thus they move from house to house, the taxes being levied in the form of backshish. Three days does the capricious rule of the ephemeral tyrant last; at length he, that is his dress, is condemned to death by burning, and from the ashes creeps out the slavish Fellah. In the times of good-natured Mohammed Ali the abu nerus is said to have ventured even to approach his throne, but the harmless jest has now fallen a good deal out of practice. The ancients also celebrated feasts when the Nile was at its height, in the month of Tût, as, for instance, that of Hermes on the 10th of this month. The anniversary of the opening of the canal is kept only at Cairo.

BIRTH-DAY CEREMONIES.

The monotony of the work-day life of the Mohammedan, interrupted by no Sunday, is richly and agreeably varied by domestic ceremonies and observances. However thrifty or niggardly he usually is, on such occasions he spares no expense.

When the time comes that a child is to see the light the midwife makes her appearance with her seat, and displays the greatest activity on behalf of her suffering charge; female relatives and neighbours also come in crowds to encourage and advise. It is often sought to lighten the difficult task by hanging opium about the mother, or making her eat the drug. The newly-born child is merely dried, not washed, and immediately laid upon a corn sieve; beside its head lies the knife with which the umbilical cord has been cut, and corn is scattered round about. This procedure is intended to drive away the *karina*, that is, the child's evil brother or sister from the spirit realm that always makes its appearance and tor-

9: Klunzinger D-5 (1863-1875) 1878
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535 the inevitable castanets (like the crotali of the ancients),
527 and casts around coquettish glances. Whatever of art is
[534] displayed consists in movements of the trunk and hips—impossible to imitate—the limbs being almost at rest. Occasionally the girl moves slowly round in a circle, gives a slight hop, perhaps swings a sword, and sinks gradually to the ground balancing a small cup on her forehead, or whirls herself round sitting on a narrow-mouthed pitcher. Yet the public are enthusiastic to the highest degree about those female performers, a popularity which no doubt they owe more to their affability than to their artistic skill, since they joke with everybody and everybody with them without any embarrassment. But dancing is given up entirely to them, and if any one were to catch them round the waist, *ala Franka*, and dance round in a galop with them, he would bring abuse and disgrace on himself, and would be set down as crazy. It is a modern and Frankish custom for members of both sexes to dance together in close contact, and such a practice was also unknown to classical antiquity. The Oriental loves dancing and music, but seldom cultivates them in person, getting people who practise these arts as their profession to perform for his entertainment; and their profession is never held in esteem, but is regarded as degrading, like that of an actor in the Frankish middle ages. For
533 a grown-up man of the better class to sing by himself, or
[558] merely to join in with others, or even to amuse himself on a musical instrument, is regarded as undignified, and still more for ladies. At such *fantasies* the representatives of religion,
527 the kadis and ulema, do not fail to be present, and laugh
793 heartily even at obscenities. The priests of ancient Egypt, as also the severe Socrates, saw no harm in having music and dancing in their houses; they even practised music themselves. The higher ranks did not dance and sing themselves, but hired professional dancing-girls and musical performers
● [171] as at the present day. Among the Greeks music and dancing were in high esteem, and formed a part of education—even the gods themselves danced.

535 The performance of the *chauel* or male dancer is not much
527

9: Klunzinger D-5 (1863-1875) 1878
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764 ing, a long row of straw mats and carpets is laid, on which
152 sit many men silently smoking their chibooks. Some men and boys, connections of the departed, run to and fro on the street uttering cries of grief and covering their faces with their hands. "Oh, my father," they cry (or "mother," "brother," &c., as the case may be), "Oh, my sorrow, my death; oh, despair; oh, my strength; oh, camel of my house" [825] (camel as a symbol of strength or support). Friends show their sympathy and attempt to give consolation, but even men, [562] at other times so undemonstrative, weep loudly and give themselves up to grief. What, then, is to be expected of the women, with their more easily excited feelings? They put on the dirtiest dark-blue dresses they can find, loosen their hair, and display their breasts, smear these and their faces with filth, pluck out their hair and tear their own flesh in a frenzy of grief. All order ceases, the loud outcry is raised again and again by the mourning-women hired for the purpose, and those who come to give consolation and show their sympathy go beyond the real mourners and join the hundred-voiced chorus. It was customary among the ancient Egyptians, ● [171] and also among the Jews, to indulge in these loud lamentations, to smear themselves with filth, and to hire mourning-women. The Prophet strictly forbade it, but the Egyptian women will not let themselves be deprived of these ancestral methods of expressing their grief.

764 Scarcely have the eyes of the beloved dead been closed and his head turned towards Meccah, when preparations are begun for getting the corpse out of the house. The ancient Egyptians, on the other hand, retained the body at least seventy days in the house for the purpose of embalming it, before it was placed in the tomb. All the former repose and dignity of the Oriental are now gone; beside the dead body are found only loud despair and headlong haste. The doctor [693] or corpse-inspector is first sent for before waiting for the first traces of the phenomena of death, and he must give permission for the burial of the body while it is yet warm. Other messengers have already purchased the linen for the shroud, while outside, the grave-digger is already preparing the last

9: Klunzinger D-5 (1863-1875) 1878
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bouring court-yard, drinking coffee and enveloped in clouds of tobacco-smoke. At the entrance or exit of a sympathizing neighbour, though he has merely come to sip a small cupful of coffee, the mourners rise and are addressed with such customary phrases of consolation as, "Such is life; but you are still alive yourself." General and individual conversations go on, in which some of the mourners take an active part, while others, bathed in tears, sit dumb in a corner. In an adjoining room lean schoolmasters occupy themselves with chanting the "book that cannot be doubted," or murmur a three-thousand-fold "Allah," in order to induce God to pity the poor soul of him who has gone to his rest. This mourning reception with coffee lasts for three days if the deceased was grown up, and the near relatives and friends remain together even during the night and take a common meal.

On the following days we hear in the house of mourning such a sorrowful, slow, monotonous song of lamentation, uttered in a low tone by a company of women, and mingled with weeping and sobbing, that it thrills painfully through bone and marrow. Thus for years does a mother or wife bewail one whom she has loved and lost, on certain days of the week, or on certain days of the year consecrated to the memory of the dead, collecting her female friends, relatives, and neighbours, and especially practised mourning women, in order to relieve her sorrowful heart, and to have the virtues of the deceased duly sung; while the men gather round them a company of their friends and cause the Koran to be read in memory of their lost ones. Among the ancient Egyptians similar mourning hymns were sung during the period of seventy days that the body was being embalmed. The great festivals also do not pass without visits being made to the graves of dear ones, as we have seen above.

Thus does Islam honour its dead.

[Pp. 204–408 not processed]